/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

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614 bearers of the name Guagáz, the old family whose members furnish the capitan and who numerically make up about a quarter of the village. The young men of this name do not always find their wives in Calderas. They /179/ must therefore often look for them in other villages, although in general this is preferably not done. Thus we have among the Paez exogamous kin-groups, that is, groups of persons of male descent, who, to be sure, live dispersed, but have a common festival house, and who cannot marry each other because of their same name. They lack the consciousness of being descended from the same ancestor, however. Similarly, there is neither a common kin-group chief, nor [62] special costumes, or any other common insignia. The bearers of [346] six family names, who together make up more than 60 per cent of the population, have festival houses on the village plaza, in each of which the bearers of the same name meet for the big annual festivals, Immaculada (December 8), Semana Santa (Easter), and San Juan (June 24), and eat and drink together. The other families, who have no festival house of their own, take part in the festival houses of friends' families.

[55] The six large families of Calderas are: Guagáz, Piñakuē, Petíns, Oléz, Oriága, Pechéne.

614 Within the kin groups, relatives play no role, but the god-
602 parents (padrino, madrina) do, and strict etiquette is observed with
608 respect to them. Boy or girl, man or woman who meet their god-
576 parents anywhere must kneel down to receive their blessing.

601 The kinship nomenclature is in part more differentiated than ours. The common form of address for father and child and mother and child and the differentiated address for older and younger siblings are striking. The designations for father and mother are differentiated according to whether one speaks of one's own or of foreign fathers and mothers. One's own father is táta, the foreign one néi; one's own mother is máma, the foreign one nihf. It does not matter whether a man or a woman is speaking in the following examples:

/185 cont./

844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 851 608 [747] [551] Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the godparents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The [783] [756] mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dûyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing [461] of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly admonish his son to work. 848 Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more [426] in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they [431] are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not 848 starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavor- 562 able position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless [583] their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not [581] have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

/192 cont./

581 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with
462 wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, there-
513 fore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man
[684] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing
[623] can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a
583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ-
848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the
[557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the
[761] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however,
[851] that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period
[178] of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself.
[435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

/175 cont./

193 601 In like manner, the children, in referring to their parents, place in front the possessive anji or uk, according to whether the speakers are male or female, respectively.

Anjí téwesh (my parents, male speaker).
Uk tewesh (my parents, female speaker).
Anji ishiwesh (my grandparents).
Uk ishiwesh (my grandparents).

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• 557 576 609 Non-relatives designate the grandparents: nesh wála.

When a speaker is younger than the person referred to, and that person is a father, the correct way to speak of him is "the father of so-and-so," for example: if our informant Victoriano Piñakué (18 years old) wants to refer to Cerveleón Guagás (55 years old), he does not simply mention him by name, because this is a "grosería" /rudeness/, but he says "the father of Alfonso" (who is his eldest son), Pons nei, or Marcelo nei if he refers to the father of Marcelo. If the first-born is dead, he would say unás nei, father of the deceased. If the speaker is older than the person referred to, he may simply call him by name, but only when there is familiarity between the two; otherwise he must use the form previously mentioned. Thus, for example, Vicente Puche, who is older then Julián Piñakué (father of our informant), and since he is familiar with him, simply calls him Kilián; if he were not, he would say Vit nei (father of Victoriano). The identical form is followed for a woman older than the speaker, for example: Pons nihi (mother of Alfonso); Vit nihi (mother of Victoriano); Unás nihi (mother of the deceased).

If our informant Piñakué wishes to express this thought, "Cerveleón, I want something," he must say, "Father of Alfonso, I want something" (Pons nei tech yugüe guau wet). He may call him simply Cerveleón, but far away from him and when he is among people who are not relatives, but, he adds, this is not respectful. If Cerveleón heard this said, he would be annoyed,

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551 609 In referring to a grandfather, for example, Alfonso's, one would say, Pons nei, if the speaker is well known to Alfonso; otherwise he would say Liõn nei (father of Cervelešc), especially if he were in the presence of the grandfather.

In referring to the paternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons niñuk.

In referring to the maternal uncle of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nekšhka.

In referring to the paternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nauts.

In referring to the maternal aunt of Alfonso, one would say: Pons nihiñuk.

Relations between Relatives

603 [188] As we have seen, general respect is owed to older persons by younger persons. Patterns of conduct between grandparents and grandchildren are governed by emotional factors, these being more or less affectionate, according to their mutual comportment. If the grandparents /177/ are kind to their grandchildren, they are given their love and consideration; if the contrary is the case, the attitude is one of cold respect. If the grandchildren say "what an old pig he is," the grandfather will not love them.

604 551 It is affirmed that with the paternal and maternal uncles an identical pattern of conduct is observed. They cannot be designated solely by name. Thus, if Victoriano Piñakuš addresses his uncle by his name, the latter will reply that he has no manners, for he should show respect. "You must say uncle," he advises. His mother will scold him: "you are rude to speak like 604 that, say uncle." Greater respect is owed to Ego's older uncles than to uncles younger than he is. To the former he gives a blessing as he does to his parents. One should not mention "cosas feas" /ugly things/ in their presence or joke with them. If the uncle wishes to joke with the nephew, the latter should

/183 cont./

605 proscribed. With respect to relations between cousins, they
835 state that whoever has them cannot pass the Páramo /crests of the cordilleras/ (Guanacas, Delicias, Moras), because the tiger will eat them. They add, however, that nothing will happen to them if such unions take place without any prelude, laughter, or merriment.

582 In deciding upon the spouses there exists a very singular
551 cultural trait. A man never chooses his future wife from among women bearing his own surname. Thus, a Muse does not choose a Muse for his wife, although she may live in another parcialidad. They believe that there may be kinship relations
551 between them. Cases in which a husband and wife do have the
582 same surname are very rare, and when that happens the husband
851 endeavors to introduce his wife by her mother's name. A case that we were able to observe unexpectedly was during the baptism of a baby girl solemnized in the church at Inzá. For elementary reasons we are concealing the names of the actual parents, and we shall suppose that the father is called Manuel Kiguasú and the mother María Kiguasú. In order to register the baptism of the child, the priest asked for the name of the parents. "Manuel Kiguasú," answered the father of the child, but upon being asked the name of his wife, he did not say that she was called María Kiguasú, as in reality she was, being the legitimate daughter of a Kiguasú, but María Vitechi, a name inherited from her mother. The case acquires more importance if one takes into account the fact that the so-called Manuel Kiguasú is a mestizo
551 who lives among the "whites" and deals with them. We found
582 the same situation in the genealogical record of the family of Nicanor Guagás of the parcialidad of Calderas. Rosario Ido, widow of Nicanor Guagás, bears the name of her mother, a native of the parcialidad of Cuetando, and not that of her father, Agustín Guagás, she being a legitimate daughter. Although in the same records Nicolasa Guagás does not conceal her surname in mentioning that of her deceased husband, Manuel José Guagás, a marriage authorized by the Church, for Nicolasa states that she is her husband's niece. The name of the nuclear family, that is to

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557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
174 stereotyped conduct,

/184 cont./

stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Aviramẽño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

8: Bernal Villa

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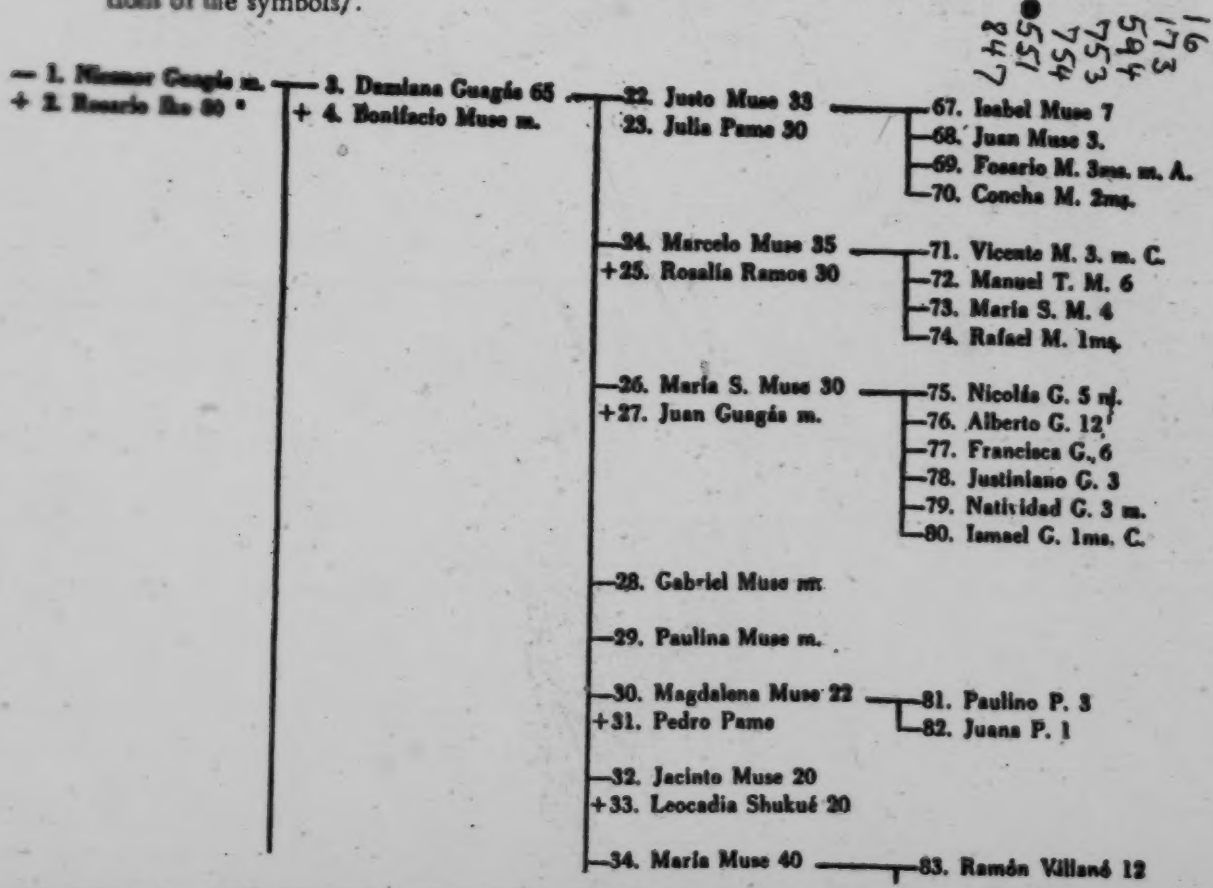
Chart of Positions of the Nicanor Guagás family's Genealogy.
/Following p. 27/

Genealogy of the family of Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad of Calderas. It includes several nuclear families which live in different places in the parcialidad /see p. 32 for the explanations of the symbols/.


1. Nicanor Guagás m.
+ 2. Rosario Ba 80 *
3. Damiana Guagás 65
+ 4. Bonifacio Muse m.
22. Justo Muse 33
23. Julia Pame 30
67. Isabel Muse 7
68. Juan Muse 3.
69. Rosario M. 3ms. m. A.
70. Concha M. 2ms.
24. Marcelo Muse 35
+25. Rosalía Ramos 30
71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
72. Manuel T. M. 6
73. María S. M. 4
74. Rafael M. 1ms.
26. María S. Muse 30
+27. Juan Guagás m.
75. Nicolás G. 5 ms.
76. Alberto G. 12
77. Francisca G. 6
78. Justiniano G. 3
79. Natividad G. 3 m.
80. Ismael G. 1ms. C.
28. Gabriel Muse mr
29. Paulina Muse m.
30. Magdalena Muse 22
+31. Pedro Pame
81. Paulino P. 3
82. Juana P. 1
32. Jacinto Muse 20
+33. Leocadia Shukué 20
34. María Muse 40
83. Ramón Villaré 12

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[Parcialidad of Calderas]

8: Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

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- 34. María Muse 40
  - 83. Ramón Villanó 12
  - 84. Juana Villanó 8
  - 85. María S. V. 7
  - 86. Marcelino V. 3
  - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H
- +35. José Villanó 40
- 36. Delfina Muse 23 E
  - 88. Jacinto Guagás 6
  - 89. Isabel G. 8ms.
- +37. Venancio Guagás 25

- 5. Nicolasa Guagás 38
  - 38. Marcelina Guagás 22
    - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
  - 40. Gregoria Guagás
  - 41. Agustina Guagás
  - 42. Virginia Guagás
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagás 10
- + 6. Manuel Guagás m.

- 7. Raimundo Guagás 35
  - 44. ——— 2
- + 8. María J. Pame 27

- 9. Pascual Guagás m.
- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. in. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
- +14. Primitivo Io

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[Parcialidad of Calderas]

847 557 754 753 544 173 16

- 10. José D. Guagás m.
- 11. Juan Guagás m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
  - +14. Primitivo Io
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
    - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. m. J
    - 92. Patrocinio Io 2
  - 47. Esteban Io 38
    - +48. Rosalía Puche 30 E
    - 93. Santiago I. m. F.
    - 94. Tránsito I. 10
    - 95. Santos I. 6
    - 96. Raimundo I. 1
    - 97. Cruz Io m. C
  - 49. Margarita Io 25
    - +50. Julio Ikinás 35
    - 98. Eusebio Ikinás 4
    - 99. Lorenzo Ikinás 2ms.
    - 101. Santos I. 1ms. m. D
- 14. Catalina Guagás 50
  - +15. Demesio Ule m.
  - 51. Dionisia Ule 22
    - +52. Celio Muse 27
    - 102 ——— 2
- 16. Trinidad Guagás
  - +17. Manuel Ule
  - 53. Bautista Ule
  - 54. Felisa Ule
  - 55. Cristina Ule
  - 56. Pedro Ule
- 18. José D. Guagás
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.

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8: Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955
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[Parcialidad of Calderon]

- 55. Cristina Ulé
- 56. Pedro Ule
- 18. José D. Guagás
- +19. Jacinta Muse
  - 57. Juana Guagás 30
    - 103. Josefina T. 1ms.
    - 104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
    - 105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
    - 106. Floro T. 4 m. D
    - 107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A
  - +58. Narciso Tumbo 40
  - 59. Aurelio Guagás 35
    - 108. Pedro Guagás 2
  - +60. Vicenta Kuskue 30.
  - 61. Marcelino Guagás 50.
    - 109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
    - 110. Bruno G. 25
    - 111. Magdalena G. 20
    - 112. Ramón G. 10
    - 113. Agustín G. 1ms. m.
    - 114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.
  - +62. Trinidad Puche 50
  - 63. Quiterio Guagás
  - +64. Petrona Pame
  - 65. Martina Guagás 27
    - 115. Julio Ikinás 10
    - 116. Gregoria I. 8
    - 117. Pascual I. 4 m.
  - +66. Rufino Ikinás 30
- 20. A woman m.
- 21. A woman m.